

# Socio-spatial integration and dynamics in the metropolitan areas of Madrid and Copenhagen

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

A city is a socio-spatial unit, which requires to strengthen integration in two levels of interaction —both the social and the physical— in order to develop cohesiveness amongst its inhabitants.

By cohesion we understand the sharing of common culture, in the sense of moral norms of behavior and techniques. Related to the frequency of patterned interaction is a measure of value integration, that is the sharing by the members of values and beliefs. In collectives where a high degree of consensus exists, there is less behavioral deviance than in groups where consensus is attenuated (DURKHEIM, 1897).

The longer the integration has been going on, amongst groups, the more settled the normative behavior. The acceptance of norms and values takes place mainly in the primary groups (COOLEY, 1902): "those characterized by intimate face to face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of individuals".

Those who migrate lose their interaction with their primary groups or closest social network (BOTT, 1957). That is why, in cities, institutional pro-

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motion of social interaction is specially relevant for those who have moved in recently (new dwellers), because they become loose in values and norm reinforcement that was usually held by their group back in their communities of origin.

For a society to build a common culture, its members have to interact and new individuals (migrants) have to find or build an integration network in which to get hold of the normative behavior of their new society. The idea of one self is built through communications with others (COOLEY, 1902 and MEAD, 1934). To Parsons (1951), the foundations of a social system are motivated actors, who play roles governed by the expectations of other actors involved with them in a web of social interaction.

## *2. MEASURING SOCIO-SPATIAL INTERACTION IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS*

Since the Chicago School of Sociology, during the 1920's in the United States, and up to now, social segregation in cities has been studied in many occasions. Some selections of articles can be found in Hawley and Rock (1973), and in Frisbie and Kasard (1988).

In this paper an effort is made to introduce specific indicators, both of general interaction of different groups defined on occupational basis, as well as integration policies for migrants. We assume that the housing market promotes or restricts social integration through housing availability to different groups.

With the data available, we are able to measure the physical proximity in the same municipalities of different social groups. The indicator we are using to measure socio-spatial integration of groups is the presence of each social group in a given municipality related to the average presence in the considered metropolitan community. The mix of different occupational groups in residential area will be used as an indicator of social interaction.

It is also tested how housing prices affect different occupational groups (considered as income groups) to move in or out of a municipality.

In that sense our conclusions will be in terms of testing whether the housing market prices are increasing or decreasing the opportunities for socio-spatial interaction amongst groups and likewise the level of social cohesion in a city.

Very often disintegration or segregation has a negative emotional sound while integration most often has a positive sound. Morrill (1991) e.g.

says: "The motivations for segregation are structural—that is a desire to minimize interaction with certain other kinds of people". This sentence can of course be turned around in a positive statement: "The motivations for segregation are structural—that is a desire to maximize interaction between certain kinds of people".

This article tries, based on empirical data, to discuss costs as well as benefits of socio-spatial integration in a dynamic framework.

### 3. *SOCIO-SPATIAL EQUILIBRIUM AND GOALS AND MEASURES OF THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES TO INFLUENCE THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE*

#### 3.1. *Socio-spatial Equilibrium*

People in a free society act under the impression of external variables, or conditions given from outside. Social segregation is based on economic factors such as income distribution, housing price structure, manufacturing structure. Under free choice the citizen will, given the external conditions, find the optimal place to settle. In his search for the best place he will try to minimize distance to job, minimize housing costs at the quality he wants, minimize distance to stores, schools and friends and try to find the most beautiful area. Under the given background variables a certain social segregation will occur. If the background variables e.g. the price structure of housing or the income distribution is changed a new socio-spatial equilibrium will occur and the segregation structure will change.

#### 3.2. *Goals of Integration*

The decision made by the public authorities to influence the choice of the individual depends on a number of public goals of which the following 6 seem relevant for our discussion:

1. Spatial socio-economic equilibrium.
2. Integration.
3. Freedom to move and settle in a non-discriminatory way.
4. Possibility to choose.
5. Attract (good) tax payers.

6. «Equal» distribution of burdens from social groups.

In this article the socio-spatial equilibrium and the development in this equilibrium in Madrid and Copenhagen will be discussed as the general background for the situation as the politicians want to «adjust».

3.3. *Measures*

The political measures to influence the settlement of people are in a free society only minor. There are two dimensions in influencing (adjusting) the free settlement, one to influence the settlement «between» municipal units and one to influence the settlement «within» a municipal unit. Moving people between the municipals has the character of competition on the distribution of wealth, growth and burdens.

Within a municipal unit the questions of care taking as well as integration are more dominating. The measures are:

- a) City development plans.
- b) House building programs.
- c) Distribution of apartments.
  - 1. Social disadvantaged.
  - 2. Immigrants, refugees.

The socio-spatial «equilibrium» and the political «adjustments» shall now be discussed on empirical basis.

4. *EMPIRICAL DESCRIPTION AND INVESTIGATION OF THE SOCIO-SPATIAL EQUILIBRIUM*

The comparative description of the socio-spatial structure of Madrid and Copenhagen gives problems concerning the available statistics in particular three areas: the time periods available, different geographical administrative structure and different methods for classification of social groups. In order to make some sort of comparison it has been necessary to accept smaller differences in the time periods used for the two cities, to accept differences in geographical units and quite big differences in the definition of social groups.

#### 4.1. *Main Lines in Population and Income Development in Spain and Denmark*

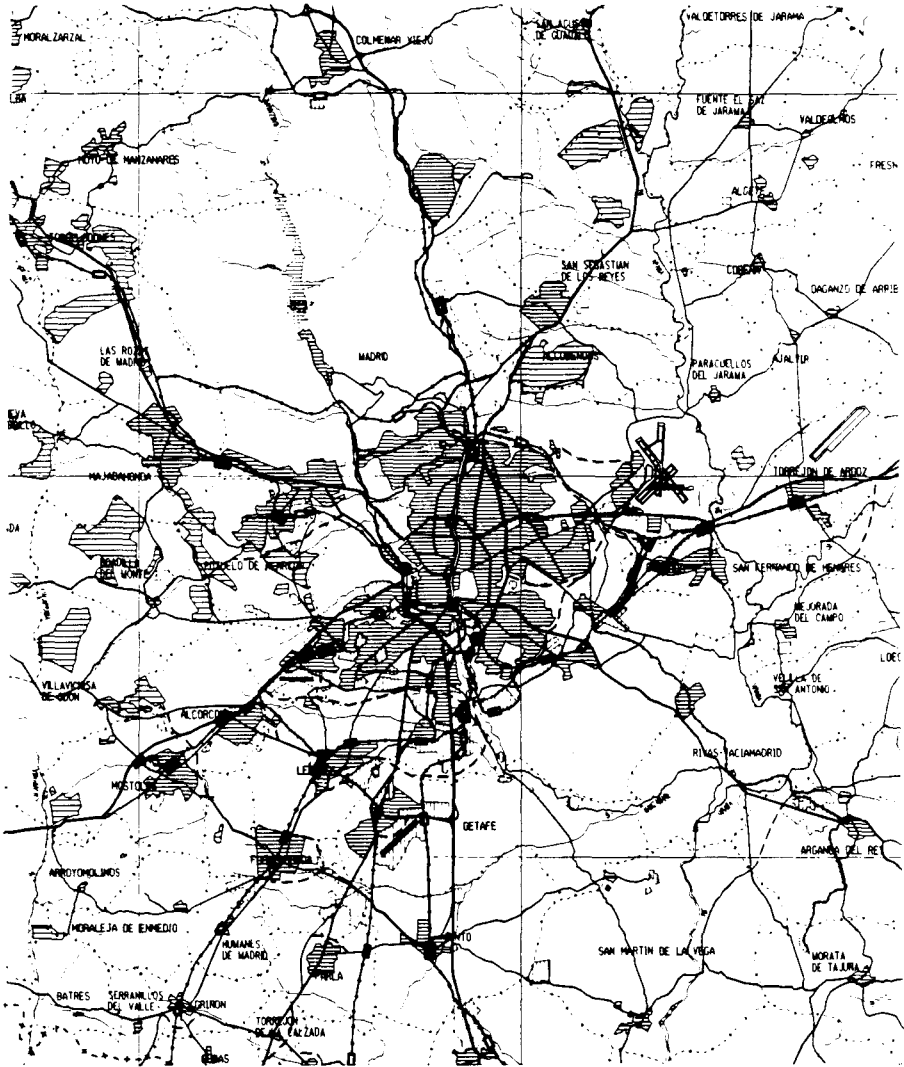
The general development has been different in Spain and Denmark for the considered period 1981-1988. The Spanish population is still growing and the metropolitan area is growing as well, only Madrid City (Central Districts) has a declining population. The Danish population is stagnating, the metropolitan population is declining and Copenhagen City (municipality) is declining even more rapidly. In Denmark the income level was about two and a half times higher than in Spain. The economic growth rate a little higher for Spain than for Denmark.

TABLE 1. POPULATION AND INCOME PER CAPITA (1987) AND GROWTH OF POPULATION AND INCOME PER YEAR IN SPAIN (1981-1986) AND DENMARK (1982-1988)

AREA	POPULATION 1986	POP. GROWTH %/YEAR	PC. INC. \$/YEAR	INC. GROWTH %/YEAR
Spain .....	38.800.000	0.4	7.454	3.1
Madrid .....	4.323.495	0.3	—	—
Madrid C.D. ....	1.029.010	-1.2	—	—
	1988			
Denmark .....	5.100.000	0.0	19.866	2.1
Copenhagen .....	1.711.730	-2	21.924	—
Copenh. City .....	467.850	-8	17.804	—

#### 4.2. *The Metropolitan Sub-areas*

In discussing the degree of segregation the measuring units for areas and social categories are important. If the areas considered constitute great shares of the total area, the degree of integration will seem to be great. The measure for segregation will tend to rise as smaller area units are considered. The same holds to some degree for the size of social category considered. In this article the area units for Madrid are given on two levels, aggregated on 9 units of which 4 are central districts and 5 metropolitan municipalities, on this aggregated level house prices were available for 1982 and 1987. Disaggregated data were available for Madrid on 43 municipal units of which Latina was the most densely populated in 1986 with 282.460 inhabitants and the smallest was Villanueva P. with 1.497 inhabitants. For Copenhagen the units are 50 municipal areas, of



**MADRID METROPOLITAN AREA MUNICIPALITIES**

<b>NORTH:</b> Alcobendas Colmenar V. S. Sebastián	<b>EAST:</b> Coslada Mejorada Paracuellos Rivas-Vac. S. Fernando H: Torrejón A. Velilla S.A.	<b>SOUTH:</b> Alcorcón Getafe Leganés Pinto	<b>SOUTH:</b> Fuenlabrada <b>WEST:</b> Móstoles Parla	<b>WEST:</b> Boadilla Brunete Majadah. Pozuelo Rozas (Las) Villanueva Villaviciosa
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which the Copenhagen municipality with 467.850 inh. was the most densely populated in 1988, and the smallest was Skaevinge with 4.946 inh. For all these areas housing prices were available, besides there are data on outpendlng from each municipal unit. For the Copenhagen municipality further data on more disaggregated geographical level were available.

When comparing Madrid and Copenhagen some difficulties arise due to differences in administrative areas. Due to the importance of the size of the geographical area and because the city centres differ from the surrounding areas attention will also be paid to the metropolitan centres below where Madrid City (Central Districts) will be hold up against Copenhagen City (municipality).

#### 4.3. *The Social Categories*

Not only the geographical areas give trouble in the comparison even worse are the the comparison of social groups. Different categories are available for Madrid as well as for Copenhagen. The two set of definitions which seemed to be the most informative were:

The social categories used for Madrid

- Technicians
- Managers
- Public Administration Employees
- Commerce/Trade
- Services
- Agriculture
- Transportation and Building Industry
- Armed Forces
- Not Specified
- Unemployed
- Not in Labour Force

and for Copenhagen

- Self-employed
- White Collar Workers
- Blue Collar Skilled Workers
- Blue Collar Unskilled Workers
- Not Specified
- Unemployed
- Not in Labour Force

TABLE 2. DEVELOPMENT IN POPULATION AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE MADRID METROPOLITAN AREA 1981 TO 1986

YEAR	1981	1986	1981	1986	%
			SHARE OF POP.		
Tot. pop. ....	4.258.835	4.323.495	100	100	1.5
Tech. ....	184.219	224.013	4.3	5.2	21.5
Mana. ....	27.840	46.794	0.7	1.1	68.1
Pub. Adm. ....	305.312	335.224	7.2	7.8	9.8
Com/Trade ....	135.803	127.166	3.2	2.9	-6.4
Services ....	172.136	165.408	4.0	3.8	-3.9
Agricul. ....	8.966	6.537	0.2	0.2	-27.1
Tra/Build. ....	419.877	344.404	9.9	8.0	-18.0
Arm. For. ....	16.322	18.879	0.4	0.4	15.8
Not Spec. ....	16.318	21.157	0.4	0.5	29.7
Unempl. ....	251.840	335.940	5.9	7.8	33.4
Not in L. ....	2.720.208	2.697.679	63.9	62.4	-0.9

TABLE 3. DEVELOPMENT IN POPULATION AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE COPENHAGEN METROPOLITAN AREA 1984 TO 1988

YEAR	1984	1988	1984	1988	%
			SHARE OF POP.		
Tot. pop. ....	1.722.792	1.711.730	100.0	100.0	-0.6
Self-empl. ....	66.821	67.812	3.9	4.0	1.5
White Col. ....	494.832	520.189	28.7	30.4	5.1
Skill. ....	95.534	93.203	5.5	5.4	-2.4
Unskill. ....	158.655	151.098	9.2	8.8	-4.8
Not Spec. ....	97.893	100.789	5.7	5.9	3.0
Inemp. ....	69.587	68.120	4.0	4.0	-2.1
Not in L. ....	739.490	710.449	42.9	41.5	-3.9

Notice that the two tables 2. and 3. can not be compared directly. For Copenhagen the first seven categories are inclusive of children and the young under education, related to the separate groups. This is not the case for Madrid.

Although the differences in the two set of data material are great they nevertheless indicate a parallel development in the social structure in the two areas. There is a clear development in the direction of more highly educated people and fewer less educated people. From the data it seems realistic to compare public administration employees with white collar



workers and to compare the group transportation and building industry with blue collar workers (skilled and unskilled).

#### 4.4. *The Social Integration in Metropolitan Municipalities*

In this section the degree of social integration will be defined primarily as the similarity between the individual municipals composition of social groups with the composition in the whole metropolitan area. It will be measured as the highest share which any municipal has of a certain social group compared with the average for the whole area.

TABLE 4. HIGHEST SHARE OF A SOCIAL GROUP IN A MUNICIPAL UNIT IN MADRID METROPOLITAN AREA 1986 (43 UNITS) COMPARED WITH AREA AVERAGE

	HIGHEST %	AVERAGE
Tech. ....	12.3	5.2
Mana. ....	4.5	1.1
Pub. Adm. ....	12.8	7.8
Com/Trade ....	5.1	2.9
Services ....	5.5	3.8
Agricul. ....	4.1	0.2
Tra/Build. ....	21.4	8.0
Arm. For. ....	1.4	0.4
Not. Spec. ....	1.3	0.5
Unempl. ....	10.8	7.8
Not in L. ....	70.1	62.4

TABLE 5. HIGHEST SHARE OF A SOCIAL GROUP IN A MUNICIPAL UNIT IN COPENHAGEN METROPOLITAN AREA 1988 (50 UNITS) COMPARED WITH AREA AVERAGE

	HIGHEST %	AVERAGE
Self-employed ....	8.6	4.0
White Collar Workers ....	42.0	30.4
Blue Collar Workers (sk + unsk) ....	22.5	14.2
Not Specified ....	8.1	5.9
Unemployed ....	6.5	4.0
Not in Labour Force ....	46.5	41.5

M A D R I D   M U N I C I P A L I T Y   D I S T R I C T S



- CENTER: 1. Centro  
2. Arganzuela  
3. Retiro  
4. Salamanca  
5. Chamartín  
6. Tetuán  
7. Chamberí

- NORTH: 8. Fuencarral  
9. Moncloa

- SOUTH: 10. Latina  
11. Carabanchel  
12. Villaverde  
13. Mediodía  
14. Vallecas

- EAST: 15. Moratalaz  
16. Ciudad Lineal  
17. San Blas  
18. Hortaleza

Table 5 shows that the unit who has the greatest share of transportation and building industry had 21.4 % of that category against 8.0 % for the average. However the highest share is only obtained in one municipality with 1,830 inhabitants, in the number two highest density of the category transportation and building industry here is only 16.7 %.

The segregation of different social groups based on municipal units are not impressive for neither for the Madrid nor for the Copenhagen metropolitan.

#### *4.5. House Prices and Socio-spatial Equilibrium and Dynamics*

The composition of social groups are compared with housing prices whit for Madrid are defined as pesetas per square meter. Unfortunately the average square meter price is only available aggregated for four districts and five metropolitan municipalities of Madrid. For Copenhagen average prices of one-family-houses in the area were used, which were available for all 50 units.

As it is seen from figure 1-4, social segregation is heavily connected with housing prices.

The segregation can be seen as the escape of transport and building workers in Madrid as well as blue collar workers in Copenhagen from high priced areas (see figure 2. and 4.). The public administration workers in Madrid as well as the white collar workers in Copenhagen seem to be attracted by high price areas (see figure 1. and 3.). The difference in reaction pattern must be contributed difference in income.

The housing price development has been very different in Madrid and Copenhagen during the latest years. Table 6 show the highest and the lowest average price of a geographical unit in Madrid (9 units) and Copenhagen (50 units).

TABLE 6. HIGHEST AND LOWEST HOUSING PRICES IN MADRID (PRICE PER SQUARE METER) AND COPENHAGEN (PRICE PER ONE-FAMILY HOUSE)

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	MADRID		COPENHAGEN	
	1982	1987	1984	1988
Lowest Price .....	29.494	49.157	437	588
Highest Price .....	62.800	183.507	1.107	1.346
Highest/Lowest .....	2.13	3.73	2.53	2.28

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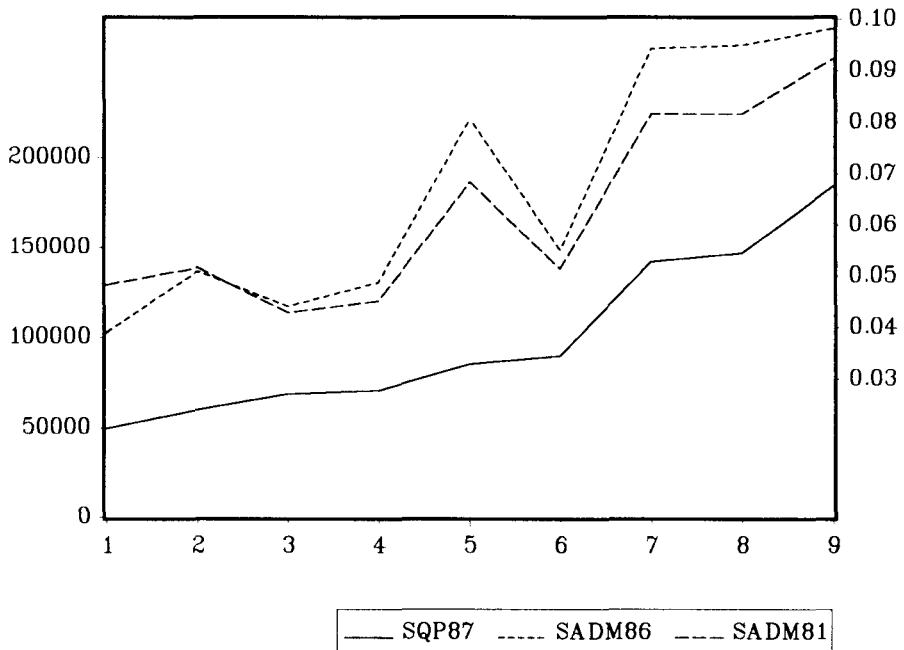


Fig. 1. Price per Square Meter (1987) and Share of Public Administration Employees (1981 and 1986) in four Districts and five Municipalities of Madrid. (Observation Ordered after Price per Square Meter)

From table 6 it is clearly seen that unlike Copenhagen the price «differences» has risen drastically in Madrid. The social segregation is to a high degree decided by price «differences» and by the fact that the two selected groups react opposite on prices. The significant change in the relative housing prices makes it reasonable to focus on prices as the most significant segregating factor for Madrid. A second reason for segregation is the income development. For Denmark a nation wide statistic show that the wage difference between blue collar and white collar workers has diminished slightly in the period 1983-1986. This is an integrating factor. A third reason for segregation: relative changes in occupational opportunities for different social groups in different areas will be discussed in section 5.

Increasing price difference raise the negative correlation between the share of the two considered social groups in the municipal units. This development is shown in table 7.

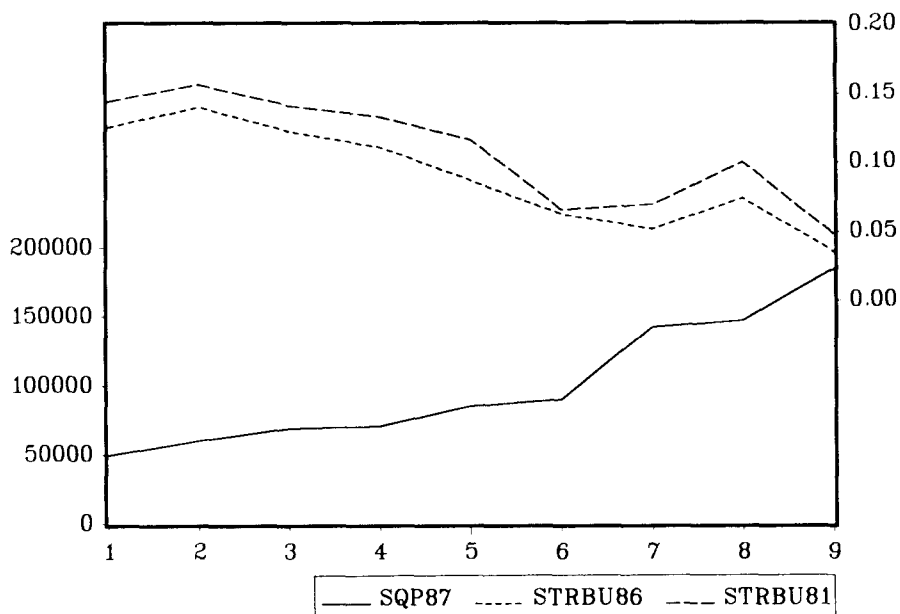


Fig. 2. Price per Square Meter (1987) and Share of Transportation and Building Industry (1981 and 1986) in four Districts and five Municipalities of Madrid. (Observation Ordered after Price per Square Meter).

TABLE 7. CORRELATION BETWEEN SHARE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIVE AND TRANSPORT/BUILDING WORKERS IN THE MADRID METROPOLITAN AREA (43 UNITS) AND BETWEEN WHITE COLLAR AND BLUE COLLAR WORKERS IN COPENHAGEN (50 UNITS)

	MADRID		COPENHAGEN	
	1981	1986	1984	1988
Correlation .....	-0.65	-.67	-.69	-.67

Table 7. shows that the integration process (most certainly due to the different development in the housing price structure) has had the opposite direction in the two towns. Disintegrating (increasing negative correlation) in Madrid. Integrating (decreasing negative correlation) in Copenhagen.

The economic benefit of disintegration for low income groups can be shown by simple calculations of different social groups "average cost" of housing square meter.

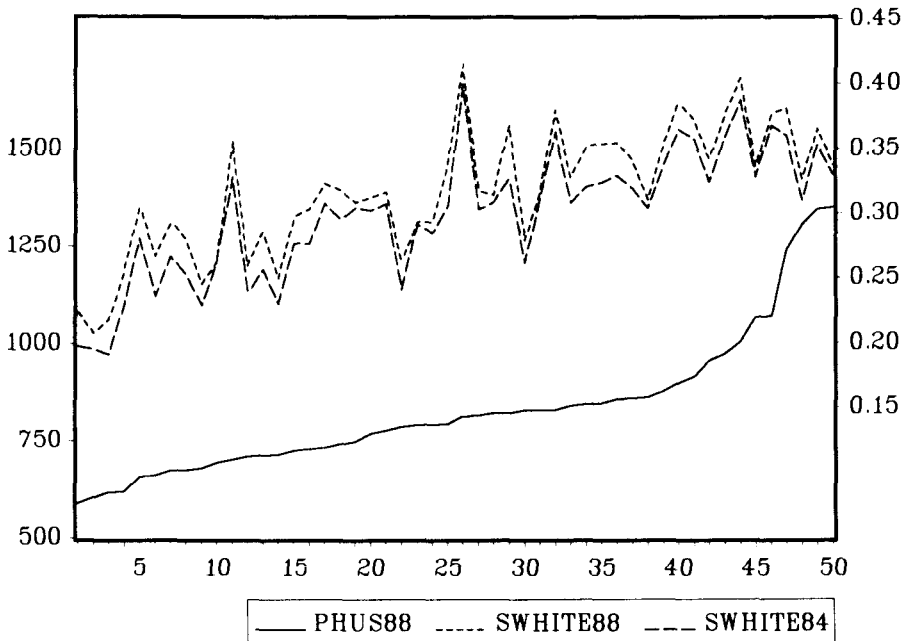


Fig. 3. Price of One-family Houses and Share of White Collar Workers in Municipal Units. (Observations Ordered after House Prices).

TABLE 8. CALCULATED AVERAGE COST PER SQUARE METER FOR DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE MADRID METROPOLITAN AREA

	1982	INDEX	1987	INDEX
Public Admin. ....	52.675	115	127.633	129
All Average .....	45.692	100	99.159	100
Trans. and Build .....	46.741	102	96.663	98

As shown in table 8. an integration will cost the low income groups money to more expensive housing. Transport and building workers were living a little more expensive than the average Madrid citizen in 1982 and would have "won" a little by total integration in 1982. In 1987 this group, however, had found it necessary to move to relatively cheaper areas and will now "lose" by integration.

It should be noticed that the cifres in table 8. and 9. does not indicate what the different groups actually pay because there can be segregation within the areas, the cifres only indicate the price level which the different groups face in their local areas.

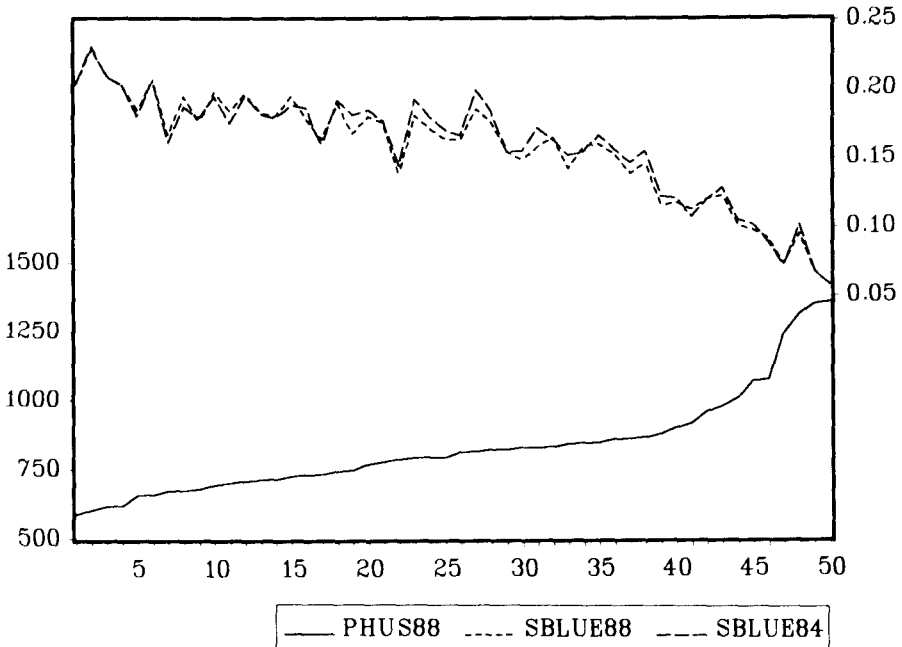


Fig. 4. Price of One-family Houses and Share of Blue Collar Workers in Municipal Units. (Observations Ordered after House Prices).

TABLE 9. CALCULATED AVERAGE COST OF ONE-FAMILY HOUSES FOR DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE COPENHAGEN METROPOLITAN AREA

	1982	INDEX	1988	INDEX
White Collar .....	52.675	115	881	102
All Average .....	45.692	100	867	100
Blue Collar .....	46.741	102	827	95

#### 4.6. Social Disintegration and Outpendling

For the Danish municipal units there is good statistics for pendling in and out of the municipal unit. The distribution of burdens of outpendling is less significant than for costs of housing, however it is seen that municipal units primarily populated with white collar workers tend to have a higher proportion of the labour force outpendling. Outpendling weighted with white collar workers gives for 1988 a share of outpendlers on 57.7 %. Outpendling from municipal units weighted with blue collar workers only

gives 55.8 %. Therefore it seems plausible to assume for the Copenhagen metropolitan area the social segregation gives lower costs of pendling for blue collar workers.

#### 4.7. *The General Equilibrium and Urban Dynamics*

Without intervention from public authorities the market forces create a general equilibrium characterized by a certain social segregation. First the above discussion shows, that the segregation is not specially high neither in Madrid nor in Copenhagen on the municipal level. Second that the socio-spatial equilibrium has been changed in both towns among other reasons due to changed structure of housing prices.

When talking about "equilibrium" it should be noticed that the actual situation at a given moment can more likely be described as "disequilibrium", because the adjustment process most certainly is not finished. It must be assumed that there is a continuous flow of people decided by differences in house-prices.

### 5. *THE CENTRAL AREAS. MADRID AND COPENHAGEN CITY*

As described above the differences in size between the municipal units in Copenhagen were very big. Besides it was mentioned that changing job opportunities in different areas might influence the degree of segregation, finally the centre works in a way which differs from the suburbs. Therefore the Madrid City (Central Districts) and the Copenhagen City (municipal) will be described separately.

Calculations show that the group «Not Specified» most likely represent high income groups.

The table 10. and 11. show similarities and differences between Madrid City and Copenhagen City. In both cities the share of high income groups are rising more rapidly than in the metropolitan area, but while in Madrid City the high income groups are overrepresented compared with the metropolitan as a whole the high income groups are underrepresented in Copenhagen City. The change in social structure in the City is due to new job opportunities because the industrial structure changes. The most instructive examples of this is the development in the labour division between the city core and its surroundings. Table 12 shows the development in share of jobs in the Copenhagen municipality in manufacturing compared to finance and business service.



TABLE 10. SHARE OF SOCIAL GROUP IN MADRID CITY 1981 1986 COMPARED WITH METROPOLITAN AVERAGE 1986

	MADRID CITY		METROPOLIS
	AVERAGE	AVERAGE	AVERAGE
	1981	1986	1986
Tech. ....	7.7	8.7	5.2
Mana. ....	1.1	1.8	1.1
Pub. Adm. ....	9.2	9.8	7.8
Com/Trade ....	3.4	2.8	2.9
Services ....	4.9	3.6	3.8
Agricul. ....	0.1	0.1	0.2
Tra/Build. ....	4.7	3.5	8.0
Arm. For. ....	0.5	0.6	0.4
Not Specified ....	0.4	1.0	0.5
Unempl. ....	5.1	7.0	7.8
Not in L. ....	37.3	38.8	62.4

TABLE 11. SHARE OF SOCIAL GROUPS IN COPENHAGEN CITY 1983 AND 1988 COMPARED WITH METROPLITAN AVERAGE 1988

	COPENHAGEN CITY		METROPOLIS
	AVERAGE	AVERAGE	AVERAGE
	1983	1988	1988
Self-employed ....	2.7	2.7	4.0
White Collar Workers ....	23.8	26.3	30.4
Blue Collar Workers (Skilled) ....	15.1	14.3	14.2
Not Specified ....	4.8	5.7	5.9
Unemployed ....	5.2	4.7	4.0
Not in Labour Force. ....	48.4	46.2	41.5

In the City job opportunities rise for white collar workers (especially the highest payed within this group) and the decline for blue collar (esp. unskilled) workers. This gives white collar workers motive to move in and blue collar workers a motive to move out. Due to the different point of departure this development makes better «integration» in Copenhagen and «segregation» in Madrid.

TABLE 12. SHARE OF JOBS IN MANUFACTURING AND IN FINANCE AND BUSINESS SERVICE FOR COPENHAGEN CITY AND ALL DENMARK (PARENTESSES)

	1982	1988
Manufacturing .....	13.7 (19.2)	11.4 (19.6)
Finance and Business Ser. ....	13.40 (7.16)	18.0 (8.8)

TABLE 13. CHANGE IN SOCIAL GROUPS IN MADRID CITY 1981-1986

	TOTAL CHANGE
Technicians .....	5.920
Managers .....	6.373
Public Administration Employees .....	641
Commerce/Trade .....	- 8.275
Services .....	-15.857
Agriculture .....	- 941
Transportation and Building Industry .....	-15.685
Armed Forces .....	599
Not Specified .....	5.390
Unemployed .....	16.172
Not in Labour Force .....	- 6.861
Total .....	- 59.197

Due to its "unfavorable" population composition Copenhagen has as goal "gradually to change the physical environments in such a way, that they will to a greater degree be attractive for population groups, which gradually can supplement the actual population towards one with respect to age, education and employment more balanced population composition" (The Copenhagen City Plan 1989 p. 22). This means that "integration" defined as moving towards the average composition of the population in the metropolitan area is a goal for Copenhagen City. It seems however as if Copenhagen would not mind to follow Madrid beyond a balanced population composition because the plan adds: "Parallel with this the municipal will try to support those professions and branches, who have special need for a central location...". The Copenhagen population politics seem to be a mixture of integration politics, politics for matching jobs with inhabitants and the politics of attracting good taxpayers. The actual change of social groups in Madrid and Copenhagen city area has total figures developed as shown in table 13. and 14.

TABLE 14. CHANGE IN SOCIAL GROUPS IN COPENHAGEN 1983-1988

	TOTAL CHANGE
Self-employed .....	- 294
White Collar Workers .....	7.088
Blue Collar Workers .....	- 6.408
Not Specified .....	3.499
Unemployed .....	- 2.968
Not in Labour Force .....	-18.806
Total .....	-17.889

Over the years the market mechanism has raised miserable districts to wealthy areas, while rich districts have deteriorated, which indicates that the "equilibrium point" might not only change but also be unstable, and/or there might be several equilibrium points.

Conscious politics of integration might therefore be expensive and rapidly outdated.

## 6. HOUSING POLITICS IN SPAIN AND DENMARK

As shown above in table 4. and 5. there was no alarming segregation when the municipal units were used as the geographical unit and the applied social categories. Even on district level the data did not reveal alarming segregation. Therefore we now consider a lower level of geographical units: housing blocks and expand the social categories to include immigrants and refugees.

### 6.1 Social Housing Constructions

To avoid segregation, the most important experiences in Spain are those practiced after the principles used in Italy e.g. Bologna, where the quality of housing is improved in center neighborhoods while strong efforts are made to secure that the usual residents do not have to move to cheaper areas.

In Denmark most blocks are built and administrated by "social housing corporations" which are formally independent enterprises but under great influence of the municipalities. The leadership of these cooperations

is either the municipal or the residents or a combination of both. The cooperation pays no income tax and can receive financial support from the municipal. A municipal can influence its housing availability through its engagement in the construction of social housing, deciding the type, price range and composition of the housing supply. Thereby it has indirectly some possibility to influence its population composition and localization. Some municipals engage in the constructions in order to attract people to the municipality. An often used argument is to attract the people who actually work in the municipal but live (and pay taxes) outside.

### *6.2 Social Integration in Social Housing*

Renting the appartments are supposed to be on favourable conditions, but are nevertheless close to market conditions. In finding the residents the coorporation is obliged to take social regards and reserve the lowest priced appartments to the low income people. Some "social" appartments are highly expensive and assigned to people with high incomes.

It is the duty of the housing cooperation to make at disposal up to one of each three free set apartment for the municipality. Beyond that the municipal authorities dispose of 25 % of the appartments for re-housing people from condemned houses, this means that the municipality can dispose of up to 50 % of the free appartments. Those percentages are related to each single department. By the assignments the municipality shall try to secure a "reasonable integration between different population groups in the individual housing departments".

If necessary the municipality can demand that they shall approve every single assignment made by the housing cooperation.

### *6.3 Garanteed Maximum Percentage of Income to be Payed in House Rent*

In order to support each individual in his freedom to choose there has in Denmark been an increasing understanding for the importance of giving economic support to persons not to houses. The Dwelling Security Law has as main rule that people can pay up to 15 % of their income (after deduction for children) in house rent, if the income is below 110.000 dkr (round 20.000 \$). Of that share which is above 110.000 dkr people could pay 25 % in housing rent. The remaining rent is payed by the government if the rented dwelling has a reasonable size.

## 7. INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS REFUGEES IN DENMARK

Since 1960 Denmark has received a little more than 50.000 immigrants from third countries defined as countries outside Europe and North-America. In the daily debate the integration of those groups takes the greatest space.

### 7.1 *The Ishøj Case*

Ishøj is a municipal unit in the south east of the Copenhagen metropolitan area. No other municipal unit is a home for so many people from third countries as Ishøj, which in 1990 had about 11 % of its population from third countries. In certain groups of housing blocks up to 20 % was from third countries. For the Copenhagen metropolitan as a whole the percentage is about 3 %.

In 1976 the Mayor of Ishøj recommended a housing cooperation not to rent free apartments to immigrants if already more than 10 % of the population in that block was from third countries. The reason was to achieve a more diversified population composition in order to promote integration. The recommendation opened a debate whether this was race discrimination and against the rule to serve all people equal. The Public Prosecutor realized that the recommendation was against the words of § 1 of the law of race discrimination. The intention of the recommendation was however to omit race discrimination by integration therefore the Public Prosecutor found that it could not be considered as illegal. This point of view was approved by the Ministry of Justice and accepted by the Ombudsman (The Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration).

In 1980 the council of Ishøj decided that renting of free apartments should be approved by the municipality, and the recommendation of not renting to immigrants was repeated.

In 1987 and 1988 approval was denied in 8 and 5 cases referring to nationality.

In 1990 however a committee against racism brought the question into court and the recommendation and following practice was found not to be legal.

It seems that the authorities, in order to promote integration can put underrepresented people in a house but not keep overrepresented groups out of a house.

### 7.2 *The Vesterbro Case*

The lack of ability to stop individuals from overrepresented groups to move in has led to the situation where the schools in Vesterbro, a district in the centre of Copenhagen, has got 52 % children from third countries. The parents of the children blamed the politicians for lack of courage by not enforcing an effective education in Danish and meeting discipline of the foreign school children.

### 7.3 *The Refugees*

The politics of integrating refugees is to make an "even distribution" of refugees on municipal units so that all receive almost the same quota per capita. Besides the intension is to hold families or friends together or if someone has arrived alone to place them together with people from their own country. This distribution politic has been mentioned as "distributing in groups" so that integration with the Danish population not means segregation from friends.

## 8. *CHRISTIANIA: GHETTO OR POSSIBILITY OF FREE CHOICE*

For twenty years there has been more or less organized resistance against town renovations. Empty condemned buildings have been occupied by slum stormers who wanted to posses and preserve the old buildings. One of the most significant of those actions took place in Copenhagen in 1972 where condemned military barracks were «liberated» by slum stormers who declared the area for the «free state of Christiania» an alternative society and a social experiment. Reluctance from political authorities to restore «law and order» has brought up two decades of discussion of making Christiania legal. Of special points can mentioned that bars and inns have existed in the area without registration and authorisation, trade with drugs is supposed to be very high, the same is the case for trade with stolen goods.

Christiania has a highly varying population, with most people in the summer. The permanent population was 910 inhabitants on 1.1.-1989. Its distribution is shown in table 15. compared with the distribution of the Copenhagen metropolitan population.

The area of Christiania is what Rojo and Rubio (1990) describe as a «bag of poverty». The cifres does not however tell the whole story. Many

15. SHARE OF SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE COPENHAGEN METROPOLITAN AREA  
AND CHRISTIANIA 1988/1989

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	METROPOLIS	CHRISTIA
Self-employed .....	4.0	3.0
White Collar Workers .....	30.4	5.5
Blue Collar Workers (Sk + Unsk) .....	14.2	3.1
Not Specified .....	5.9	1.4
Unemployed .....	4.0	24.3
Not in Labour Force .....	41.5	62.2

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people have expressed that they feel that in Christiania they have found a humanity which they had missed. Christiania underline the fact that only differences can give people the possibility of choice.

## 9. CONCLUSION

It seems to be clear that income or occupational groups tend to segregate in the metropolitan area after prices of housing. The trend is probably less noticeable in short term basis than in long term basis. The mobility will partly depend on the proportion of home ownership and public regulations.

The way homes are made available in such a classified way, due to zoning regulations and due to the land prices —related to quality of services— in each area, seems to be the next relevant variable to go deeper into. If the housing availability patterns the display of income groups, the actions to increasing socio-spatial integration should go in the direction of diversifying the houses offered as well inside in the same building as in the neighborhood.

In the comparative study we have had some trouble because the statistics are not made uniformly. If rules of the integration politic some day should be handed over to the Common Market it would demand a standardised European statistic. However as shown integration is a highly local matter which hardly passes the municipal borders. Therefore there seems no need to coordinate statistics for the purpose of integration.

## ABSTRACT

It is well known that towns tend to segregate socially, with lower interaction between different social groups, as a consequence. The role of the housing market is crucial in this process.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the social dynamics and the structuring capacity of housing over social interaction of groups, on the basis of comparative empirical data, for the Madrid and Copenhagen metropolitan areas.

Keywords: integration, spatial equilibrium, ghetto, refugees.

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